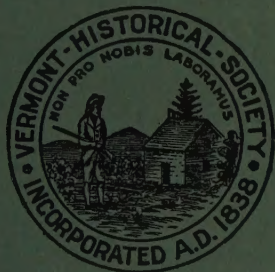


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VOL. II No. 4

PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society



The Crown Point Road
with Map
The Fort at Castleton

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Montpelier Vermont

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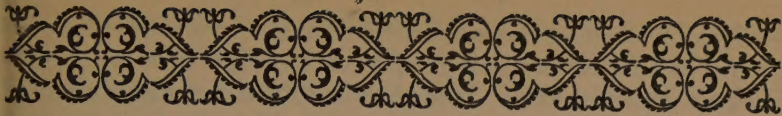
Montpelier Vermont

1931

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NEW SERIES

1931

VOL. II No. 4

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE CROWN POINT ROAD

By MARY FLETCHER CHARLTON

For many years, the author of this paper has been gathering material which would show the history and location of the road from Crown Point to Number 4 (Charlestown, New Hampshire). The results of her investigations are contained in this paper. They establish within the limits of reasonable accuracy the location of a military route of considerable importance in the early history of Vermont. Few portions of this road are in use at present. It is likely that sections of it which were used by the early settlers were shifted from time to time, to better locations than the original, or for the accommodation of the early settlements, so that it may not always be clear which was the earliest site. Markers erected by the D. A. R. have usually been placed along the present equivalents of the old road, and as a result, in some cases, they are only approximately correct.

The Walling and Hager map of Vermont gives the location of this road as it was thought to be in 1859 and 1860. The map is so large and so rare as to make it seem worth while to include with this article a map based on that, and prepared for the Vermont Historical Society by the National Survey, of Chester, Vermont. In some cases, the location as given by Walling and Hager has been slightly altered in the light of Mrs. Charlton's evidence. Wherever possible, landmarks mentioned by Mrs. Charlton or her authorities are shown. Charles Tuttle of Rutland lent a copy of the Walling and Hager map for this work.

Mrs. Charlton states that her work is by no means complete, but at least it will furnish the basis for further investigation of manuscript material and other items. It has been suggested that a good series of photographs made from the air would be likely to show the exact location of the road, if made when the leaves are off the trees. In this way, roads built by the Romans have been rediscovered after centuries. With the knowledge that the Crown Point Road was cut to a width of twenty feet, provided with many bridges, and labored on by hundreds of soldiers, it seems likely that this modern method would produce results. If it could be employed, the old road might be reopened as a bridle path of unusual interest. Ed.

DURING the various French and Indian wars preceding the Revolution, the way for the predatory bands of the north, to the infant settlements on the coast, lay along the rivers and over the hills and mountains of the region lying between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River now known as Vermont. The most northern route pursued by the savages in their incursions, was by the River St. Francis, Lake Memphremagog, and the Passumpsic and Connecticut Rivers; another led up Lake Champlain to the present site of Whitehall, thence up Pawlet River and across the mountains to the head waters of the Wantastiquet, now West River, and down to the Connecticut. But the road most frequently travelled was by the way of Lake Champlain, Otter Creek and Black River, the southeastern portion of which territory is now embraced in the towns of Shrewsbury, Mount Holly, Plymouth, Ludlow, Cavendish, Weathersfield and Springfield."¹ This route was long known as the "Indian Road." Fort Dummer, built in 1724, by the Province of Massachusetts, within the limits of the present town of Brattleboro, was intended to obstruct the savages upon their hostile raids in the time of war, and in time of peace became a trading post or "truck house" where the Indians, by authority of the provincial government, were supplied with food and clothing in exchange for furs. The fort at Number Four, now Charlestown, erected in 1744, at an expense of 300 pounds sterling, assessed on the Proprietors of the Township, answered the same defensive purpose. One of the duties of the officers in charge of these garrisons was to keep scouts or parties of rangers out on the "Indian Road" to observe and give timely notice of the coming of the enemy.²

The government of Massachusetts, being desirous of obtaining a

description of the route, procured of one James Coss or Cross his diary of a journey made by him from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain in 1730 over the "Indian Road."⁸ This subjoined diary⁴ is probably the earliest record of travel through this region in existence.

Monday. Ye 27th April, 1730, at about 12 of the clock we left Fort Dummer, and travelled that day three miles, and lay down that night by West River, which is three miles distant from Fort Dummer. Notabene, I travailed with twelve Canady Mohawks that drank to great excess at the fort and killed a Skatacook Indian in their drunken condition, that came to smoke with them.

Tuesday. We travailed upon the great River [Connecticut] about ten miles.

Wednesday. We kept the same course upon the great River, travailed about ten miles, and eat a drowned buck that night.

Thursday. We kept the same course upon the great River within two miles of the Great Falls [Bellows Falls] in said river, then we went upon Land to the Black River above the "great Falls," went up in that River and lodged about a mile and a half from the mouth of Black River which days travail we judged was about ten miles.

Thus far the distances are tolerably accurate. The "great River" is, of course, the Connecticut, and the "great Falls" Bellows Falls.⁵

Friday.⁶ We cross Black River at the Falls [Springfield] afterwards travail through the woods N.N.W. then cross Black River again about 17 miles above our first crossing, afterwards travailed the same course, and pitched our tent on the homeward side of Black River.

The distance put down as travelled this day is doubtless erroneous,⁷ and the 17 is probably a misprint for 11 in the original manuscript. The "Falls" where they first crossed Black River is no doubt at Springfield village, and two or three miles above where they encamped the night before. Twenty miles in a N.N.W. direction would have taken them nearly to Woodstock, and they would have found it impossible to encamp at night on the "homeward side" of Black River. Moreover, if they had only averaged about ten miles a day the preceding days, when they came to leave the Connecticut

and began to "travail through the woods" it is not likely that they doubled their speed. Hence it is reasonable to infer that their second crossing place was near Perkinsville, and that they pitched their tent that night on the southwesterly side of the river between the latter place and the Upper Falls and at the base of the eastern extremity of Hawks's mountain.

Saturday.⁸ We crossed Black River, Left a great mountain on ye right hand and another on ye left [Ludlow]. Kept a N.W. course till we pitch our tent after 11 miles travail by a brook which we call a branch of Black River.

The "great mountain" left upon the right hand after crossing Black River was doubtless Ascutney, while that on the left was Hawks's.⁹ Mr. Hall in his excellent history of Eastern Vermont, evidently misled by the misstatement of the distance of the preceding day's march, places this locality in Ludlow. If this were so, the mountains mentioned must needs be different elevations of the Green Mountain range, and the "brook," 11 miles distant, would be somewhere in Mt. Holly or Shrewsbury. But this hypothesis is untenable, for the succeeding day they travelled towards Black River, which would be retracing their steps. The actual route pursued must have been by Downer's towards Felchville, leaving the valley in the vicinity of Greenbush, and thence along near the summit of the hills that separate Cavendish and Reading, reaching the "brook" "Twenty Mile Stream" in the northwest corner of the town of Cavendish, near the residence of William Smith Esq. This brook he rightfully called a branch of Black River, and the actual distance corresponds with that laid down in the diary.

Sabbath Day.¹⁰ Soon after we began our day's work, an old pregnant squaw that travailed with us, stooped alone and was delivered of a child, and by Monday noon overtook us with a living child upon her back. We travailed to Black River. At the three islands, between which and a large pound we past the river, enter a mountain, that afforded us a prospect of the place of Fort Dummer. Soon after we enter a descending country, and travail till we arrive at Arthur Creek in a descending land. In this days travail which is 21 miles, we came upon 7 brooks which run a S.W. course at the north end of said mountain. From Black River to Arthur Creek we judge is 25 miles.

The first crossing of Black River¹¹ was in Plymouth, probably where Tyson's Furnace is now located, or between the ponds. It is possible that a view of the vicinity of Brattleboro may be obtained from Saltash Mountain. It is a little puzzling to conceive how they crossed the seven brooks running S.W. on the north side of the mountain. It seems more likely that he intended to say west instead of north. By "Arthur Creek" of course the writer means Otter Creek.

Monday. Made canoes.¹²

Tuesday. Hindered travelling by rain.

Wednesday. We go in our canoes upon Arthur Creek, till we meet two great falls in said river. Said river is very black and deep and surrounded with good land to the extremity of our prospect. This day we travail 35 miles.

Thursday. We sail 40 miles in Arthur Creek. We meet with great falls, and a little below them we meet with two other great Falls, and 10 miles below ye said Falls we met two other pretty large Falls and came to the lake.

The falls mentioned are supposed to be Mead's Falls and Sutherland Falls in Rutland and those at Middlebury, Weybridge and Vergennes respectively.

Major Hawks¹³ chose this route in 1747 from Deerfield to Quebec to accomplish an exchange of prisoners; thus recognizing it as the easiest and most direct means of communication between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain.

In 1748 Captain Eleazer Melvin with 19 men from Fort Dummer and Capts. Stephens and Hobbs with a force of 60 men from Number 4, starting from the latter place at sunset on Sunday the 13th of May, passed through this region on a dangerous scouting expedition. They followed the Indian Road. Captain Melvin's journal from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain is as follows¹⁴—

May 13. March'd from Fort Dummer to No. 2, and ther camp'd.

14. Marched to No. 4. Made no discovery of the enemy.

15. Sunday in the evening, marched with Capt. Stevens and Capt. Hobbs to the mouth of Black River and crossed the Great River and camp'd.

16. March'd about 14 miles, crossed a branch of Black River, which runs from Ascutney. Made no discovery.

17. March'd a N.W. point about 13 miles. Came to a large branch of Black River and camp'd. Saw no new signs of the enemy.
18. March'd a N.N.W. point about 3 miles, crossed Black River, kept the same point about 9 miles further, over the height of land, and camp'd. Saw no new signs of the enemy.
19. March'd a N.W. point. Crossed several large streams, being branches of Otter Creek. Saw many signs of the enemy, both old and new, as camps, trees redded, & March'd about 10 miles this day, and camped, after we had sent out proper scouts.
20. March'd about 6 miles a N.W. point, down Otter Creek, there parted with Capt. Stevens and Capt. Hobbs who thought proper to take another course. March'd over Otter Creek, kept a N.W. point about 8 miles, and came again to the river, about one mile below some large falls,¹⁵—crossed a large stream¹⁶ which came into Otter Creek on the west side, a little below the falls, and camped. Saw no signs of the enemy very new.
21. Being rainy weather, march'd but two miles and camped.
22. March'd N.W. by N. down Otter Creek, about ten miles, then took a N.W. point and marched about 10 miles further, saw several camps made last winter, also saw tracks, and some considerable beaten paths made by the enemy, but not very new.
23. March'd N.W. about three miles,—came to a large camp, fenced in with a very thick fence, where we found a keg of about 4 gallons, which appeared to be newly emptied of wine, as plainly appeared from the smell, and about 12 pounds of good French bread;—the bread we took and divided among ourselves. Kept the same point about eleven miles further and encamped, making no further discovery.
24. March'd N.W. about ten miles and came to Lake Champlain about 4 o'clock. March'd about 3 miles down the Lake and camp'd, making no discovery of the enemy.

Melvin¹⁷ reached the vicinity of Crown Point and returned by way of West River, losing five of his men killed by the Indians. Captain Stephens's party separated from Melvin's at Otter Creek, and after going down the creek a short distance took an easterly course across the mountains, intending to reach the headwaters of the White River. They probably went through the towns of Chittenden, Pittsfield and Sherburne for they came upon a stream along which they travelled five days, crossing it one day 35 times, which

upon arriving at its mouth they ascertained to be the "Quarter-queeche."¹⁸ Floating down the Connecticut on rafts and in canoes, they arrived at Number 4 after an absence of two weeks.

The No. 2¹⁹ mentioned in Melvin's Journal is the township of Westmoreland and so named as it was the second granted by Massachusetts and accepted by its General Court Nov. 30, 1736, at the same time as Chesterfield (including Hinsdale), known as No. 1, Walpole, known as No. 3 and Charlestown, known as No. 4.

Captain Hobbs's account of the way from No. 4, New Hampshire, to the mouth of Otter Creek is as follows.²⁰

From No. 4, up the river, on the east side about a mile, to avoid crossing Black River; then cross the river, deep still water, good landing on the banks, to the northward of north west to the foot of the mountains called Ascoudne about two miles, the land white oak and pine, sandy and of course full of gullies, at the foot of the mountain, struck into the Indian Road, which followed to Otter Creek, left the mountain to the northward; the land much the same but inclined to oak and beech, tolerably level, steered about W.N.W. four days and came to Otter Creek, which is inclined more to beech and the sugar maple tree; called it then 60 miles, but do not think it so much, thence down the river, on each side of which interval land about a mile wide, and continued after this sort to the Great Falls. I am very confident a good wagon road may be made hitherto. I crossed below the Falls, the water about knee deep: from the Falls down the west side, to the mouth two days. Rough land, no sharp hills or pitches nor rocky. The road I kept was between the interval land on the Otter Creek, and the Swamp Meadow that runs down the east side of Lake Champlain, upon the up land, which is a ridge, that runs between these quite down the lake; the intervale land below the Falls being wet, rushy drowned lands. The second time I went down this river, just before I came to the Falls, I turned away east, and left a big mountain on the left hand to the west, followed an Indian path till I struck a river that falls into Otter Creek, then went on the east side. Rough bad travelling.

Albany Sept. 18th. 1756.

Humphrey Hobbs.

Other travellers²¹ over this road of whose journeying we have any definite account, were a party of prisoners, captured on the 30th of August, 1754, at No. 4, by a band of St. Francis Indians, seventeen in number, six of whom went off in another direction, and the remaining eleven conducted their prisoners back to Canada. The prisoners' names were James Johnson and his wife Susannah, with their four children, Sylvanus aged six, Susannah, four, Polly, two, and Captive (christened Louisa Captive), born en route, within the present limits of the town of Cavendish, and without doubt the first white child ever born there, Peter Larabee, Ebenezer Farnsworth and Miriam Willard the fourteen-year-old sister of Mrs. Johnson. A full description of the captivity of Mrs. Johnson's family was written by Mrs. Johnson under the title *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson*.

These prisoners²² were twenty days in reaching St. Francis, Canada. They remained in Canada as captives for three years and their sufferings were beyond description.

These St. Francis Indians or Abenaki²³ claimed as their territory New Hampshire west of the Merrimac, Vermont and a portion of Massachusetts. Their canoes skimmed the smooth bosom of the "Quon-nee-quok" [Connecticut] or long river and the rippling surface of "Kas-kact-cha-wak" or Black River. Great Falls,²⁴ now Bellows Falls, was considered the best fishing ground in all New England and the Abenaki returned here to fish frequently years after civilization had displaced them. One aged chief who had fought with the English in different wars and had been in England three times came back about 1856 to die near the "Great Falls."

In January, 1753,²⁵ the St. Francis tribe sent six Indians to Captain Stephens (long commander and hero of No. 4) under a flag of truce to protest against the English settling at "Cowoss Meadows" (on the Connecticut), saying, "If the English should go there the following spring it would mean war, and a war of the English making." When this threat reached Governor Wentworth by way of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts it threw such discouragement on the settlement of Coos or Cowoss Meadows that the design was wholly relinquished.

According to a declaration of James Johnson,²⁶ when he returned from Canada, a paroled prisoner, the Indians who took him captive told him they sent out eleven men to No. 4, to take captives because

the English had settled down on lands which they had not purchased and that next spring they intended to drive the English on Connecticut River as far as Deerfield.

The Indians²⁷ lived up to this threat, making frequent attacks in the Connecticut Valley, in 1755 going as far as Walpole, Keene and Hinsdale, not forgetting No. 4, on the way. They came and went in parties of as many as 300 or 400. The Indian Road was their most frequented route.

In the expedition of 1755 against Crown Point a regiment of 500 men from New Hampshire under Col. Jos. Blanchard of Dunstable (now Nashua) participated, making a fatiguing march through the woods to Albany.²⁸

In March, 1756,²⁹ the Governor of Massachusetts requested the Assembly to appoint fourteen men to measure the distance between No. 4, on the Connecticut River and Crown Point on Lake Champlain and to give what knowledge they could to the country. Colonel Williams was directed to carry out this order but owing to that part of the country's being infested by a large number of Indians, surveys were made only to the height of land but both the design of building the road and constructing a fort half way of the road were abandoned for a time.

Major Robert Rogers, called the most famous scouting leader of his time, writes in his diary³⁰—

March 23rd. 1756, I waited on The General [Shirley] and met with a very friendly reception; he soon intimated his design of giving me the command of an independent company of Rangers. Next morning I received the commision—company to consist of sixty privates at 3 s. [shillings] New York currency per day; three serjeants at 4 s. an Ensign at 5 s. a Lieutenant at 7 s. and my own pay fixed at 10 s. per day. Orders were to raise the company as quick as possible—to enlist only such as were used to travelling and hunting and in whose courage and fidelity I could confide—they to be subject to military discipline and the articles of war. When my company was completed a part marched under the command of Lieut. Rogers to Albany: with the remainder, I was ordered to march through the woods to Number 4. [Boston to Number 4] then a frontier town greatly exposed to the enemy; where April 28th. 1756 I received orders to march from thence to Crown Point—in persurance of which we travelled through

deserts and mountains. the second day of our march my second Lieutenant Mr. John Stark was taken sick and obliged to return, with whom I sent six men to guard him to Fort Edward. We continued our march till the 5th. of May, when I arrived with nine men at Lake Champlain, four miles south of Crown Point. Here we concealed our packs and marched up to a village on the east side about two miles distant from Crown Point but found no inhabitants there. . . . Assembling later at this place where we concealed our packs, and on a raft crossed over to the west side of the lake. In our way we had a view of the French and Indians encamped at the old Indian carrying place, near Ticonderoga and the 11th. of May arrived safe at Fort William Henry. Mr. Stark with his party arrived at Fort Edward three days before.

For the expedition against Crown Point⁸¹ in 1756 a regiment of 700 men commanded by Colonel Nathaniel Mezerine of Portsmouth was raised in New Hampshire; and for the year following (1757) another regiment of 500 men under the same officer. Of the latter regiment raised in 1757 the detachment that marched through No. 4 and joined Webb at Albany was commanded by Lieut. John Goffe and was stationed with the 31st British Regiment under Col. James Monroe (afterwards President) at Fort William Henry. When this fort surrendered to Montcalm and his Indians, Aug. 9th, the New Hampshire troops happened to be behind in coming out, and they felt the chief fury of the murderous attack of the faithless savages, losing eighty men out of two hundred. This year for the first time the fort at No. 4 was garrisoned by New Hampshire troops, 250 men under Col. Thomas Nash of Durham. In the following year, 1758, Lieut. Col. John Goffe commanded a detachment of Vermont [?] troops which crossed Vermont and took part in the unfortunate attack by Gen. Abercrombie upon Ticonderoga.

The year 1759 witnessed the surrender of Niagara to Gen. Johnson, the capture of Quebec by Gen. Wolfe and the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the army under Gen. Amherst. In this service a thousand New Hampshire men were engaged under the command of Col. Zacheus Lovewell, of Dunstable. Captain John Stark,⁸² commanding a company of the famous rangers under the brilliant chief Maj. Robert Rogers, was present at the reduction of the last named stronghold, and after the capture of Crown Point was ordered by Gen. Amherst, the commander-in-chief of all the

British forces in America, with 200 rangers to construct a road through the wilderness from Crown Point to No. 4.

Major Robert Rogers records this order in his diary³³—

August 12th. 1759—I had orders (Gen. Amherst) to send Captain Stark with two hundred Rangers, to cut a road to No. 4 which party was immediately sent.

This road was built³⁴ under the supervision of Lieut. Col. Zadoc Hawks and Captain John Stark, Hawks having superintended the cutting of the path over the mountains and Stark the road on the western portion of the route.

Here are some extracts from the journal kept by Robert Webster, Fourth Connecticut Regiment—Amherst's Campaign.³⁵—

Sunday sept. 9th. 1759—This day it rained some. [Crown Point]
. . . . The scout came from No. 4. They marked out the road and measured it and it is seventy miles and seven and a half.

Friday 26 October 1759. Major Stark set out from Crown Point to go to Number 4, and to clear a road about twenty feet wide. He had 250 men.

[27 Oct.] On the road this day. We built two bridges.

[28 Oct.] On the road. This day we built one bridge and one causeway.

[29 Oct.] We built another bridge. We are in good health and in high spirits.

[30 Oct.] This day we built a large bridge. We have 36 men out of our regiment. Ensign Hall commands them. I am sergeant of the thirty six. This day we built another bridge. We took two days allowance of fresh beef—all hands at work.

[Wed. 31 Oct.] Last night it snowed. We made two bridges. One of them was a large bridge. This day was cold and so was the night.

[1 Nov.] We are in good health. We built one small bridge and passed through good land. All is well.

[Fri. 2 Nov.] A fair morning. This day we began not to stand about the road. It is very cold.

[Sat. 3 Nov.] All hands at work severely. This day and night it rained very hard. We took up 19 men that ran away from Crown Point.

[Sabbath 4 Nov.] This morning it cleared off. Last night we kept

a strong guard near the deserters. This day we sent in [Crown Point] the deserters that we had taken. It rained and hailed. We worked all day.

[Mon. 5 Nov.] A pleasant morning. Yesterday one of our men killed two deer. It clouded up and snowed, then rained all night.

[Tues. 6 Nov.] This is a pleasant morning. We killed two cattle. Our bread is just gone. We hav'nt had but one bisquit a day this four or five days. Yesterday we came to Otter Creek and are there still. We are very hungry. We sent forty men after bread which we expected was on the road coming to us. This day we lay still whilst just night and then went to work without any bread to eat. Ammedown killed a beaver with my hatchet.

[Wed. 7 Nov.] Still at Otter Creek. A cold morning and clouds up and snows and hails both. We came about seven or eight miles and camped by Otter Creek.

[Thur. 8 Nov.] A fair morning but cold. We made a bridge for footmen to go over Otter Creek and went on and Camped by the side of the Creek. This day I wounded a deer and this day it snowed in the afternoon. We hav'nt any bread at all.

[Fri. 9 Nov.] In camp on Otter Creek. We worked some this evening. Lieutenant Small came here from Crown Point. The bread that Lieutenant Small's party had was divided amongst us the tenth in the morning. It was one buiscuit to four men.

[Sat. 10 Nov.] This morning we received one buiscuit for four men. At Otter Creek still. We removed from Otter Creek toward No. 4, over 3 miles then encamped.

[Sabbath 11 Nov.] A fair morning. We are at work but we hav'nt any bread or salt nor hav'nt had this eight days. We live on fresh beef and water and some chacabra leaf broth. The day before yesterday four of our party went from us sick to go to Number Four, and some out of every party. Our men are very week living in this form. I am not well. This day eight of our men came to us with bread and we dined [on that] and felt better.

[Mon. 12 Nov.] Encamped on the road. Four of our men came to us that went after bread and Lieutenant Small took their bread from them so we have one buiscuit to one man. We have nice weather and hungry bellies.

[Tues. 13 Nov.] Encamped on the road. It has'nt pleased the Major to give us any meat yesterday nor today as yet so we lay

- still at present. This day at twelve o'clock they gave us two days allowance of beef so we went to work then and felt better.
- [Wed. 14 Nov.] On the road. Pleasant weather. This day the sick that came by Number Four overtook us, some of them.
- [Thur. 15 Nov.] Last night it began to rain and rained moderate in the morning. We had a severe shower last night. Sergeant Morris and three men came to us and camped all night.
- [Fri. 16 Nov.] This morning we went to work and had nothing to eat and this day we arrived at Number Four and we ate supper of beef and turnips.
- [Sat. 17 Nov.] This day was a pleasant day. We are at Number Four. We drew one day's pork. No bread nor sass [greens]. This night we lodged in the woods and was cold and raw. We had no fire.
- [Sabbath 18 Dec.] Still at Number Four. This day Lieutenant Small wend us in order to let us go home.

The following are some extracts from the journal kept by N. Payson, orderly sergeant of Capt. John Brooks's Company of Rangers, Col. Timo. Ruggles's regiment, which refer to the commencement of this road.⁸⁶

Camp Half Way Brook, July 4, 1759: After orders Provo. Shrewsbury, Maj. Hawks, field officer of the day, a sergt. and 12 men from the lines to cut and burn all of the leaves and brush that air within the lines of the sentries. A working party is to be paraded immediately, consisting of one Captain, 2 subs., 3 Sergts, 50 privates without arms. All guards to be mounted as usual, as their seems to be some neglect of exercise, it is expected for the future it will be more punctual.

It is very notoriously true that profane cursing and swearing prevails in the camp, it is not only very displeasing to the God of Armies but dishonorable before men. It is there fore required and will be expected that for the future the odious sounds of cursing and swearing is to be turned into profound silence.

July 5, 1759: Regimental Order. Parole doubling all the guards, to be mounted as usual. All axes and spades this day to be unpacked, having the number exactly right, that was left for the use of the camp is wanted, that they may have them applied to the Quartermaster. Whoever is found to secure none, and it be

known, will be looked upon as an embezzler of the King's stores and must answer accordingly. Lieut. Col. Ingleson, field officer for the day. He is to see the Pickets paraded and give them orders in going the rounds, as for some nights it has been neglected, all former orders to be obeyed.

Camp Crown Point. Oct. 26, 1759: This day we set out to clear a road to No. 4, we crossed the lake about sunset and then camped.

Saturday, 27th: Major John Hawks arrived this day and we set out to clear the road and cleared as far as the two mile brook and camped.

Sabbath Day, 28th: This day cleared 4 miles and then camped.

Monday 29th: This day we marched 2 miles and then came and made a bridge over, then march 2 miles farther and came to a large stream and camped.

Tuesday, Oct. 30: We made a great bridge, marched 3 miles and camped.

Oct 31: Marched 2 miles and then dinnereed.

In Commissary Wilson's orderly book,⁸⁷ these items appear.

Crown Point, 25 Oct. 1759. The following party to receive this afternoon, belonging to the provincial troops, 12 days Buisquitt and five days pork, and to parade at the right of the Royals at 1 o'clock; they are to bring with them all the felling axes belonging to the Regiments as they can spare them and they are to leave with their Regiments what arms and accouterments they have in their possession belonging to the King as they will not have any use for them in the service they are to be employed in, which arms are to be returned to Maj. Ord of the Artillrey. After they have performed the service they are sent upon, they will receive from Lieut. Small Pasports and Provisions or the monye to carry them to their respective Abodes, and the General expects that every man will do his utmost towards carrying on this service.

Major Hawks to command the partie and will receive further orders from the General. The Royal and Montgomerys will send 10 batteaux each with 2 men in each at 1 o'clock to the front of the Royal to carry Major Hawks over the Lake with his Partie. This provision compleats them to the 31st. inclusively and with bread to 7th.

Crown Point, Oct 26th. 1759. The detachment under the com-

mand of Major Hawks will compleat the tools they want to 250 and a grindstone, by applying to Sergeant Morrow and giving receipts for them, which will be delivered to Lieut. Small when they arrive at No. 4, and put in the store there that they may be sent for.

From this we learn that Gen. Amherst ordered Major Hawks in October of the same year in which Stark performed his service, to go to No. 4, with a body of Provincial New England troops numbering about 300, with implements for felling trees and making roads, and that after arriving there they were to be paid off, their term of enlistment having expired, and then to go to their homes. A portion of the road begun by Stark and the path over the mountain were completed by Hawks and his party. Either on this expedition or on a previous one he encamped on the side of the mountain which now bears his name between Baltimore and Cavendish and the place is still pointed out as "Hawks's Camp."⁸⁸

Christopher Goodrich of Cavendish,⁸⁹ an old settler, located "Hawks's Camp as just a little over the top of the mountain on the Baltimore side, on land originally owned by Salmon Dutton, now operated by the Greens who bought it from the Proctors" [1907]. The local tradition that Hawks died or was killed upon the mountain which bears his name is not borne out by the facts.

Hawks,⁴⁰ when a sergeant, was the hero in command of Fort Massachusetts which place he defended with a force of only twenty-two men against a force of 900 French and Indians under Vaudreuil, inflicting a loss of forty-seven upon the enemy and losing only one man himself until forced to surrender after twenty-eight hours from lack of ammunition. He was promoted to Lieut. Colonel in 1755, was in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, and was in the army at the conquest of Canada.⁴¹

Among the losses inflicted upon the enemy in 1759 should be mentioned the destruction of the Indian village of St. Francis (where Mrs. Johnson was taken as a captive) by Maj. Rogers and the slaughter of nearly all the inhabitants.

Early in 1760, a regiment of 800 men under the command of Col. John Goffe (Manchester, N.H.) was raised for the expedition for the capture of Montreal.

"The regiment," says Col. Potter⁴² in his *History of New Hampshire*, p. 233, "had its rendezvous at Litchfield, and marched by the

way of Monson (now Milford), Peterborough and Keene, to No. 4. and then cut a road through the wilderness, twenty-six miles to the Green Mountains, and from thence went to Crown Point, following the road cut mainly by the Rangers under Stark the year previous. They had to clear the wood—a mere bridle path—from Merrimac to Keene. They crossed the Connecticut at Charlestown, at Wentworth's Ferry. On the west bank of the Connecticut, and near the mouth of Black River, they built a block house and enclosed the same with pickets as a protection in case of disaster. They were forty-four days in cutting the road to the foot of the Green Mountains, which they crossed, packing or hauling their stores over the mountains on horse barrows. A large drove of cattle followed them for the army at Crown Point."

Maj. Robert Rogers's Diary of May 4th, 1760, refers to this⁴³—

May 4th, 1760 sergeant Beverly, who had made his escape from Montreal, reaching Crown Point in seven days, reported that the Indians have an eye to the No. 4, roads, as they say they can get sheep and oxen coming here [Crown Point] from that place.

From David Holden's Diary⁴⁴—1st Sergeant in Capt. Leonard Whiting's Company—Groton, Massachusetts, we find—

July 29th, 1760. A command of about 80 Provincials and 40 Rhode Islanders, Excluding officers were sent towards No. 4 with 2 days provisions in order to meet the New Hampshire Regt. who by intelligence of two men that came from them and arrived here last night, was like to suffer for want of provision.

July 31st. The Party came in with the N. Hampshire Regt. and encampment near the Grenadiers Encampment.

Sept. 11th. We sat sail up the river Surrell⁴⁵ and came 5 Leegs and Encamped. St. Francisways [François] lies 5 Leegs Below Surrell.

Sept. 12th. Here we took in a little girl of 5 years of age, (a daughter of the widow Johnson⁴⁶ that was taken prisoner with her mother, But was parted) and brought it along with us, and came about six Leegs and encamped.

Sept. 23rd. A sickly time and many die. A large number of invalids was sent home [from Crown Point] by way of No. 4 [Charlestown, New Hampshire].

Sept. 26th. All the Rangers was sent Home, only Capt. Ogden's

Company. 50 of these went by No. 4 and the Rest by the way of Albany.

Sept. 28th. Gen. Amherst went into winter Quarter. Cold weather comes on again.

Sunday Oct. 16th. Captain Page with 60 men sat off Saturday for No. 4.

Oct. 17th. Orders that the Massachusetts and Rhode Islanders should strike their tents tomorrow morning at Day Brake and Return them into the Commissary, and march to Ticonderoga where we are to receive Provisions to carry us to No. 4. This was joyful news to us, as the weather was cold. Brigadier [Timothy] Ruggles with his attendance marched for home by way of No. 4.

Oct. 18th. We struck our tents according to order and began our march for Ticonderoga, and we arrived there the same day and drew eight days Provisions to carry us to No. 4. and was carried over the Lake and encamped on the other side.

Oct. 19th. We began our march through the Woods.

Oct. 23rd. Sunday arrived at the Connecticut River about SunSet and was ferried over and Encamped on the other side.

Oct. 24th. Marched into the Town of No. 4. where the Regulars abused some of our men. We was drawed up; and drew Allowance and every man took their own way home. This was a wet day.

In building the road⁴⁷ from the ferry through Springfield, Weathersfield, Cavendish and Plymouth to the foot of the mountains, mile posts were set up and marked, beginning to number at the Connecticut. At convenient intervals camps were established. The place where the Crown Point Road crossed the present river road in Springfield is marked by a suitable monument,⁴⁸ whence it passed around Skitchewaugh Mountain, then up to where Levi White now lives, thence along the present travelled road, and crossed the main highway near the house of H. M. Arms. It passed a little west of the buildings on Dr. Hubbard's place, and then through the farm now owned by Lucius Streeter, where its location is plainly seen at the present time. On the level ground, partly on the town farm, and partly on the land of Mr. Streeter, was a camping ground of Col. Goffe's men. The hill or ridge of land east of the camp and extending into Weathersfield has from the earliest memory of the inhabitants been called "Camp Hill." From the camping place the

road passed near the town farm buildings, and over the hill to the Coleman Haskins place, crossing the present highway leading from Springfield to Weathersfield near the barn and thence on by the buildings on the Luther Boynton farm, through Weathersfield.

Through Springfield⁴⁹ the road passed two or three miles east of Black River on the high land between that river and the Connecticut, but in Weathersfield in the vicinity of Perkinsville approached nearer the Black River, and just above that village came upon that branch which comes down through Felchville. Passing up this branch the ten mile post was reached a short distance below Amsden's grist mill. It left the branch just south of Greenbush and about two miles south of the old Indian trail, pursued by Mrs. Johnson and her captors, began to ascend the hill towards the Cavendish line. Vestiges of the road yet remain across the land of Messrs. Barnes and Streeter, through the pasture of Mr. Hubbard Dickenson and thence across the farm of Mr. Joseph Atherton, near whose residence the fifteen mile post stood, crossing the highway in front of his house just west of where the road forks to Felchville and Greenbush. Thence passing through the fields it came out by the place formerly occupied by Sampson Hardy, ran nearly west and about fifteen or twenty rods north of the present road over the land of Hardy, Proctor and others until it reached a place once known as Russell's Corner [time around 1870].

This spot was probably where the road crossed a small brook running southeast and is about a mile south of the farm first occupied by Noadiah Russell and near the residence of John Russell, one of the first settlers.

On Monday, March 14, 1785, the Town of Cavendish "voted to except the great road through the town as lastly laid out from Esq. Russell's corner to the Ludlow line, being the old road to Otter Creek." Although to the first inhabitants it was the only road and did good service in its day, it has since been almost entirely discarded, so that very little of it is identical with any road now travelled.

Following the old Indian Trail, it avoided the tangled underbrush, the swamps and the circuitous windings of the river, and keeping along on high ground it crossed the tributaries of Black River near their sources and where they were so small as to render bridges unnecessary. From the Russell's corner the road pursued a westerly direction by the places now occupied by D. F. Stearns, D. Kendall and A. Wiley until it crossed the east branch of Tracy brook near

I. Heminway's, then turning toward the northwest it passed to the east of the old burying ground, across the highway near Mr. Quirk's house, and keeping on through his mowing and Mr. Henry Spaulding's pasture, crossed the west branch of Tracy brook near Andrew Parker's house. To the rear of the place where Mr. Parker's barn now stands, the builders of the road encountered a very steep grade, and here for ten or fifteen rods the road is very plain to be seen. Following the old road up a long hill ten or twelve rods east of the present road we come upon the farm of Mr. Jacob Sullivan Parker. Here a great deal of labor was required to be done, and here we come upon the site of one of the old log camps once occupied by the Rangers under Stark, or the men of Hawks or Goffe when they were at work transforming the Indian Trail into a road for the transportation of military stores. When Mr. Junius Parker came here and settled in 1787, the remains of the old cabin were still to be seen. The spot was well chosen. Near by is a never-failing spring of delicious cold water. It is a sightly place, where one could not easily be surprised by the lurking and insidious foe. One of the occupants of the cabin fell a victim to disease and still sleeps on the hillside beside the road he helped to build; his name has already disappeared.

Following the tracks of the old road where it leaves the site of the old cabin and enters Mr. Parker's "Dutton Pasture" about 30 rods from his house we come upon the grave, one rod north of the stone wall and east of the bar way. A rough stone marks the head, within ten feet of the old road. About eight rods N.E. of the old grave, and five rods from the old road, is a cleft rock beneath whose sheltering projection, one rainy night many years ago, slept Joseph Parker of Windsor, who had lost his way in the darkness when he was travelling towards Otter Creek. Years after he returned and identified the spot. Fifteen rods N.W. of the grave a well laid stone causeway fifteen feet across, and then, ten rods further on, another, where it became necessary to surmount a ledge, both in a good state of preservation, mark the course of the old road. Through this pasture it is easily traced ascending a rocky knoll nearly to the summit, about forty rods east of the old Nathan Hatch house on the travelled road, thence, through the woods and upon the farm of Mr. Edward Fletcher, where it runs nearly north, passing east of Mr. Fletcher's barn and thence on past the spot where stood the house of Capt. Coffeen, the first settler in Cavendish.

Three ancient apple trees on the west side of the highway mark the site of his house, and a few feet south, enclosed by a substantial stone wall, rest his remains with those of his wife Susanna, and several Revolutionary soldiers whose names are unknown.

The Coffeen place is now [1870] owned by Mr. John Gilson. Following the old road we next come to the land of Clark Chapman Esq. and Norman Bigelow, known as the "Old Lot," where Captain Coffeen settled his son Gouldsmith Coffeen. Next it crosses the old Carter place, now owned by Mr. Parker Green, and then over land of Mr. Rist. Crossing the highway, Twenty Mile Stream, and the land of Wm. Smith Esq. just north of his residence, at the Twenty Mile Post was the "Twenty Mile Encampment" which gave its name to the stream, one of the principal tributaries of Black River.

According to Mr. Burbank (Historical Address on Twenty Mile Encampment)⁵⁰ an older branch of the road passed from the Jacob Sullivan Parker place to near the Heald place, and from thence it passed round Mt. Gilead and to this spot on the southwest side of Gilead. Its course took it through considerable soft, swampy ground, which was corduroyed. In some places the remains can be seen today, also where a brook was bridged, and there is said to be a cellar hole where Captain Coffeen built his first house in 1769. The later road passed the Chas. S. Parker place where Capt. Coffeen built his tavern. A surveyor's map of the town of Cavendish of 1790 shows the road as going from the tavern directly over the hill westerly. It intersected the other [first] road on the hill east of here, perhaps a third of a mile from this camp ground. In all probability the first road was discontinued on account of its being soft and wet in places.

J. Ashton Spaulding⁵¹ gives the following information, his grandfather James Hall as authority. Mr. Hall lived from 1800 to 1875 within a mile of the Encampment.

I have heard him, [Capt. Hall] say that he could remember seeing a part of the old log camp [Twenty Mile Camp] standing. I have heard him say that the Old Military Road to the south of Capt. Coffeen's branched off, and that one branch passed to the west and through the swamp and at the foot of Mt. Gilead (so called) at its easterly side, and on the land now owned by Frank Wheeler. I have passed through the section of it where it was corduroyed through the swamp and it was as plainly to be seen as

any of the roads of today. The other branch passed by Capt. Coffeen's land and the two branches came together to the west of the hill from Coffeen's. I am positive that this road did not touch the town of Reading at all.

Mr. Joseph Harris,⁵² Ludlow's historian, corroborates this last statement, saying that the Crown Point Road cuts across the northeast corner of the town of Ludlow between Cavendish and Plymouth; that he himself walked over this territory and proved to his entire satisfaction that Ludlow could safely claim fifty rods of road in the extreme N.E. corner of the town.

The lot of land⁵³ on which the "Twenty Mile Encampment" was made was given to Mrs. Coffeen for being the mother of the first child born in Cavendish. It was generally taken for granted that Captive Johnson was born in a corner of Reading, but her mother afterwards located the spot in Cavendish, near the Reading line.

Leaving Mr. Smith's we trace⁵⁴ the road across the land of Mr. Norman Bigelow and James Hitchcock, near the N.E. corner of Ludlow, over the height of land half a mile south of the Plymouth meeting house, across Mr. Parkhurst Page's farm, thence by Mr. Pollard's, and down the hill east of the upper pond on Black River in Plymouth. Here just before reaching the river was another encampment. After crossing the river we go in a southwesterly direction ascending the mountain and enter Mt. Holly, passing north of Patch's Pond through the Sinclair farm now owned by Mr. Timothy Hastings and come to the Half Way Encampment upon the farm of Mr. Charles Martin. It is located on a flat on a small rise of ground about a mile north of the "Shunpike" and a mile and a half from Patch's Pond. This was a camping ground not only for our soldiers but for the French and Indians as well, as a curious earthen vessel and other Indian relics have been found there.

Thence⁵⁵ the road goes northerly through Shrewsbury Center, through the south part of the town, over the hill by the present residence of Lyman Beverstock, and out by Willard Smith's. Crossing the railroad it strikes the main road to Rutland about midway between Cuttingsville and North Clarendon. Thence its course is nearly the same as the present travelled road to Rutland.

From the fort in Rutland two branches of the road passed through the present township of Pittsford,⁵⁶ uniting a little west of Otter Creek. The first and older branch, and probably the only one trav-

A Map showing the

OLD MILITARY ROAD from CROWN POINT

to NUMBER 4 (Charlestown, N. H.)

built in 1759 under the supervision of Lieut. Col. Zadoc Hawkes and Capt. John Stark by command of General Amherst.

The course of this road is imposed on a modern map of Vermont which shows landmarks and present main highways, from data given in the Walling and Hagar Map of Vermont dated 1859-1860.

Prepared for the

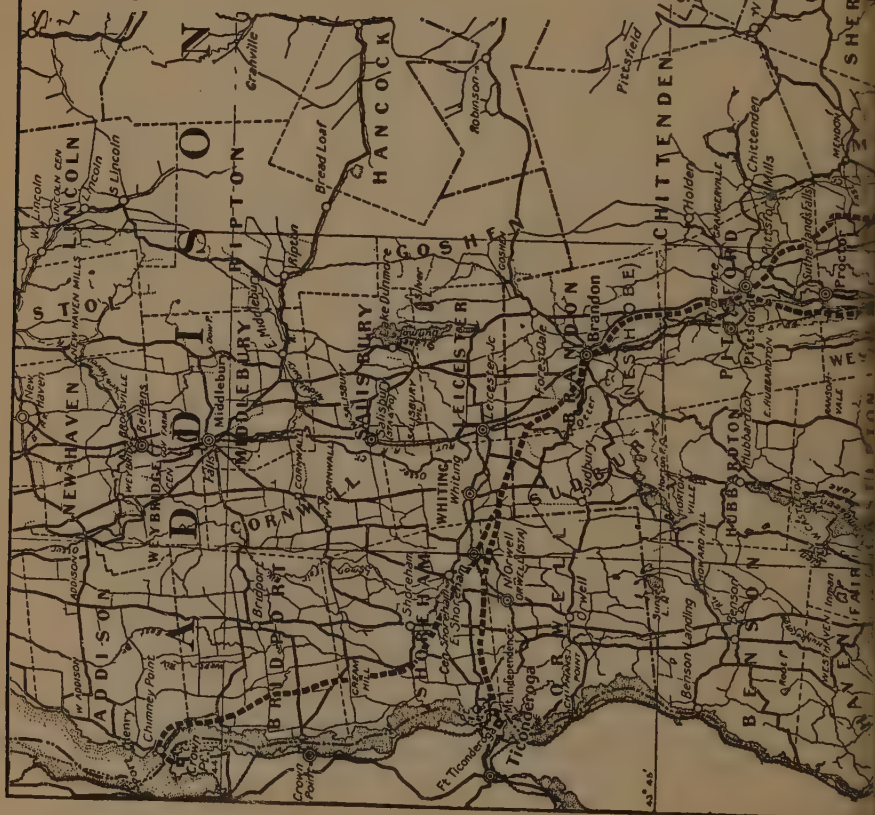
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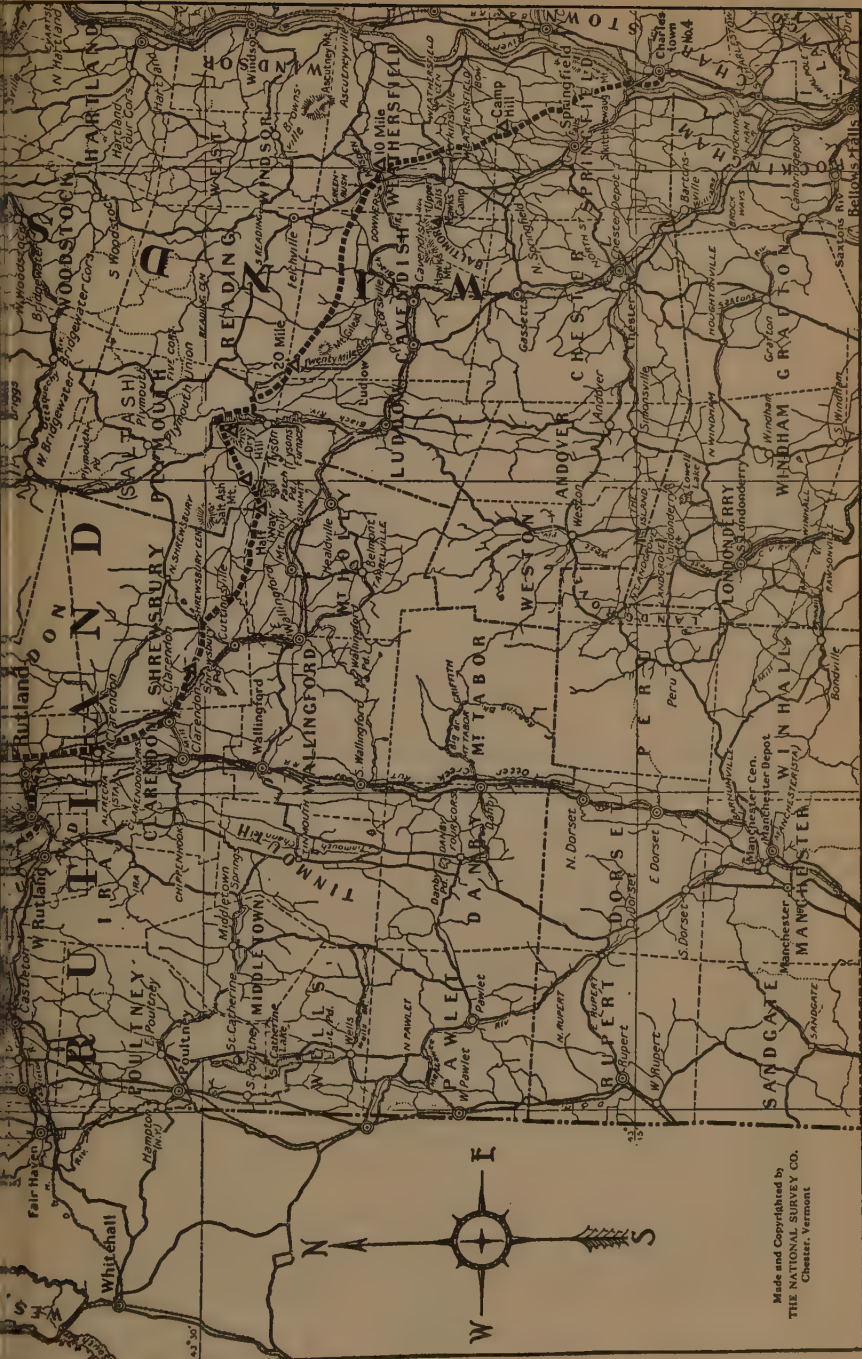
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Encampments shown thus ▲
Old Military Road

Scale of Miles





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elled prior to 1759, leading north from what is now known as Center Rutland to Sutherland Falls, following nearly the West Proctor road^{56a} entered Pittsford a little west of what has since been known as Proctor. Passing near the present residence of Artemus C. Powers and Chapin Warner to where the Gorham bridge now stands, it thence turns a little westerly, and running past where Roger Stevens afterwards lived, and past the Rice, Mead and Barnes places, to the Buck place, it there took a northwesterly course and passed near the Waters place—now Abel Morgan's—and pursued about the same course by where Benjamin Stevens and Asa Blackmore once lived to the site of Bresee's mills, and thence on to Crown Point.

The second or later branch, opened in 1759 or 1760, leading north from the site of the village of East Rutland, entered Pittsford where the present highway, leading south from Abner Reynolds, intersects the town line. From that point it pursued a northwesterly course through land now owned by S. W. Loveland, F. Manley, Marshall Wood and G. N. Fayres, and near the present residence of Amos C. Kellogg it turned westerly and crossed Mill Brook. Near where Ebenezer Hopkins afterwards lived—now S. B. Loveland's—it turned north, passed a little west of the present village to the Olmstead place, where it turned more westerly and crossed Otter Creek at a ford (Pitt's ford) just at the mouth of what is known as Stevens brook, and continuing westerly, passed about 3 rods west of the present residence of Benjamin Stevens and united with the branch formerly described about 100 rods south or southeast of where Benjamin Stevens, Sr., afterwards resided.

From Pittsford to Brandon⁵⁷ its course is nearly the same as the present travelled road and thence bearing more to the west it crossed Otter Creek at Brown's camp in the N.E. corner of Sudbury.⁵⁸ Near this road on the farm of a Mr. Griffin is a famous spring of clear cold water, called "Cold Spring." A little south of this spring there was an Indian camp, where many Indian relics have since been found—arrow heads, finished and unfinished, stone pestles for pounding corn, many of them decorated with antique designs, stone images, etc. Cold Spring is also the site of the encampment of the Continental armies.⁵⁹

The road passed through the S.W. corner of Whiting, the N.E. corner of Orwell, through Shoreham and Bridport and terminated at Chimney Point on the Lake in Addison, just north of Crown

Point. Chimney Point was the first settlement in Western Vermont and it was made by the French in 1731.⁶⁰

Between Black River and the Half Way Encampment, on the farm of Dan Hays (formerly of Stedman Knight) is a spring not far from the school house in Nineveh. Tradition has it that many years ago two weary soldiers returning home stopped to drink. One of them, sick, and perhaps wounded, kneeled to drink and never rose again. His grave is on the hill twenty or thirty rods from the spot where he was mustered out by death.

Pioneers in this region have told this story, that once upon a time, before the military road was built, a party of Indians in pursuit of a scouting party of rangers were ambushed by the latter and every soul was shot while crossing the river on a fallen tree just above the upper pond in Plymouth.

Captain James Hall said (1869) that early in the 19th century he found an old powder horn near the present location of Mr. William Smith's barns, and along the road where it ascends the hill west of the stream, a bayonet, saddle bags, ax and two little pieces of silver money were found.

We have diaries of three men who walked over this Crown Point Road. First, that of Elias Hall⁶¹ of New Cheshire, New Haven county, Connecticut, who enlisted in the army of Lord Amherst at Hartford under Col. Whiting: as told by his son Elias Hall in the *Rutland Herald* Jan. 16th, 1861.

When I was 19 years old I went to look over my father's ancient scenes. Crown Point and Chimney Point being only half a mile apart, the "Old French Road" started at the latter point to cross what is now Vermont, and across the mountain. My father, late in the fall of 1759, was taken with rheumatism and had the permission from Lord Amherst to return home, and went in the Old French Road before there was a family in this section of the country, and he is the only individual I ever knew who walked it.

The first night on his way he stopped at Camp Cold Spring near the eastern part of the town of Shoreham, and 6 miles west of Whiting depot and 10 miles S.W. of Middlebury. I have forwarded to Mr. Bissell, who owns the farm where the Spring is, a monument to be placed there to mark one spot on the old "French Road," and to designate the spot where my deceased parent rested his weary limbs in the wilderness 100 years since, and

have suggested 2 other places to mark the road of some importance to history from Lake Champlain to Connecticut River.

I understand that Mr. Hager, state Geologist, followed the information I communicated to him soon after his application, and it appears on the new map as desired.

This map referred to by Mr. Hall was published by Walling and Hager in 1860 and outlines "Lord Amherst's Old Military Road from Crown Point to No. 4," and is believed to be the only authentic survey now existing.⁶² Hall continues:

There is no doubt that Pittsford Stockade Fort (Fort Mott) was on the track. It then went south 2 or 3 miles, turned south-westerly from the place where old Capt. J. Fassett lived, and by where E. J. Warner and A. Ladd lived in Pittsford. In Rutland by where Joe Keeler lived more than 20 years since, by Seth Keeler's to the old Major Cheney place, and then South to Rutland Union Store near which are the marks of the Rutland Fort; then it went south over 4 miles, turning easterly past the Bowman place, and to the north of Cray's Mills, then east to the road going to Shrewsbury Center to where Mr. White lived 80 years since; from there to Twenty Mile Camp three miles from the old Dutton "Tavern Stand," and thence to No. 4.

The brave and celebrated Maj. Rogers after incredible sufferings and hardships, with what men were not starved on his return after the destruction of the St. Francis Indians, returned in the road to Crown Point in 1759, a very hazardous expedition.

Amos Farnsworth, Ensign in Capt. Shattuck's company, Col. Jonathan Reed's Regiment (from Groton, Mass.), writes⁶³—

July Tuesday 28th. 1776 I sot out on my march for Canada.

Got to Charlestown—New Hampshire.

Saturday July 27th—Marched from Charlestown.

Monday Aug. 5th. arrived at Ticonderoga.

From Captain John Calfe's book⁶⁴ the following items—

1777, Monday, Feb'y 10th. March'd to Mr. Sartlo's at Charlestown (6 miles), took breakfast, march'd to Mr. White's (3 miles), and tarried all night.

Tuesday, Feb'y 11th. Tarried at Charlestown.

Wednesday, Feb'y 12th. Marched to Mr. Hobbs at Springfield (7 miles), marched to Maj. Grout's at Weatherfield (4 miles) and tarried all night.

Thursday, Feb'y 13th. Marched to Mr. Coffin's at Cavendish (10 miles), & marched to Mr. Bates at Saltash [Plymouth] (6 miles), tarried all night.

Friday, Feb'y 14. March'd to Mr. — at Ludlow (7 miles), march'd to Mr. White's at Shutesbury⁶⁵ (6 miles), march'd to Mr. Bowman's at Clarendon (5 miles), and tarried all night.

Saturday, Feb'y 15th. March'd to Mr. Post's at Rutland (8 miles), march'd to Power's at Neshobe⁶⁶ (15 miles), March'd to Mr. Wiswald's⁶⁷ at Sudbury (7 miles), tarried all night.

Sunday, Feb'y 16th. March'd to Mr. — at Shoreham (10 miles), cross'd the Lake to Ticonderoga (2 miles), tarried there till the 2d. day of March. While nothing remarkable happened then we moved on to Mount Independence.

From the close of the campaign of 1760⁶⁸ until the outbreak of the Revolution, there was no necessity of using the Indian Road (Crown Point) for military purposes, and it is not known to have been traversed during that time by hostile Indians. During the war of the Revolution it was in frequent use. Early in 1777, three New Hampshire regiments of Colonels Joseph Cilley, Nathan Hale, and Alexander Scammel passed over the road to rendezvous at Ticonderoga. When Burgoyne appeared before that fortress in the latter part of June of that year, expresses were sent to New Hampshire for assistance and the organized regiments along the Connecticut and several detachments of militia from the different parts of the State started at once to the relief of the garrison but were met on the way by messengers advising them of the evacuation of the fort and the retreat of our forces.⁶⁹

Of these detachments sixty-three men from Westmoreland under Capt. John Cole arrived within "three miles of Col. Mead's, at Otter Creek."⁷⁰ From Nottingham West, now Hudson, twenty-four men under Capt. James Ford, and sixteen men from Litchfield, under Maj. Samuel Chase, went as far as Number Four. From Hollis and vicinity fifty-five men under Capt. Daniel Emerson and forty-five men from Plymouth and vicinity, under the command of Lieut. Col. David Webster, went as far as Cavendish, where they met Col. Bellows's regiment on the retreat. Capt. Jona

Brockway with nine men from Washington and vicinity reached Cavendish on the 8th of July, and there had orders to return, but there being a second alarm on the 13th. of the same month, he proceeded with fourteen men as far as Otter Creek, where he met the army retreating. A company of fifty-four men from Col. Ashley's regiment, under Capt. Elisha Mack, marched to Black River (in Plymouth) when they were ordered home, and arrived there July 3rd. On the next day they were ordered forward again and went as far as Col. Mead's, where they met the retreating army.

A few weeks later Stark, stationed at No. 4, was sending his men across the state, preparatory to his glorious battle of Bennington where the sons of New Hampshire and Vermont, fighting side by side under that impetuous general, first turned the tide of war against the British arms.

It is difficult for us today to recognize the all-important part borne by this Old Crown Point Road:⁷¹ traced first by the moccasin of the Savage, then more sharply marked by Hawks, Stark and Goffe, in the establishment of the English-speaking supremacy on the American Continent.

Reviewing the facts in the light of history—the French had discovered and settled Canada. The Indian tribes were their allies and hostile to the New England settlers. The English had settled New England and acquired supremacy over the Dutch in New York. English statesmen and military leaders recognized the necessity of holding New England, New York and to the indefinite West else they lose all. Lake George and Lake Champlain with their fortifications were regarded as of utmost importance and this military road from Number Four to Crown Point became a key to the situation, opening the door from Massachusetts and the New Hampshire Grants to the north whereby troops and supplies could be rushed to the fighting armies.⁷²

There are⁷³ three reasons for remembering the Crown Point Road: first, because of its military value, being largely instrumental in deciding the outcome of the French and Indian Wars; second—because it helped to determine the fact that this continent should not be French but English with the forms of social, religious and political life which we cherish today, as our greatest possessions; and third, we remember this Road because of the men with whose names it is associated:—Amherst, the great soldier; Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys; General John Stark and “that army of

our Forefathers, who subdued the wilderness, and by their foresight, sacrifice and steadfastness won for us the heritage of Freedom."⁷⁴

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27. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road*. Third paper. *Black River Gazette*, Ludlow, Vt. December 2, 1870.
28. Belknap, J., *History of New Hampshire*.
29. Baker, Mary E., *The Crown Point Road*.
30. Rogers, Major Robert, *Journal*.
31. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road*. Third paper.
32. Stark, Caleb, *Memoirs of John Stark*. p. 27.
33. Rogers, Major Robert, *Journal*.

34. Saunderson, H. H., *History of Charlestown, N. H.*
35. Journal of N. Payson, in Burbank's *Address, 20 Mile Marker.*
36. Diary of Robert Webster, *Bulletin of Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, Vol. II, pp. 141, 146 ff.
37. Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book, *History of Springfield, Vt.*
38. *History of Springfield, Vt.*
39. Cavendish local history, traditional.
40. Dupin, *Ethan Allen and the Green Mt. Heroes.* pp. 76-77.
41. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
42. Potter, *History of New Hampshire.* p. 233.
43. Rogers, Major Robert, *Journal.*
44. Holden, David, *Diary.*
45. River Sorrell now called Richelieu. (Ed.)
46. Susannah Johnson, daughter of James and Susannah Johnson, who was captured with her parents by the Indians in Charlestown, N. H., on Aug. 30, 1754. At this time she was ten years old, but her mother was not a widow.
47. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
48. *History of Springfield, Vt.* pp. 21-22.
49. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
50. Burbank, Albin S., *Address at Dedication of 20 Mile Marker.* Pamphlet.
51. Spaulding, J. Ashton, "A Bit of History," *Ludlow Tribune*, 4 Sept. 1900.
52. Joseph Harris, historian of Ludlow. Manuscript history.
53. Baker, Mary E., *The Crown Point Road.*
54. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
55. Hemenway, *History of Rutland County.* p. 802.
56. Caverly, *History of Pittsford.*
- 56a. Miss Humphrey of Proctor, who is still youthful in her eighties, recalls that her father pointed out to her the course of the military road through that town, when she was a child. The Humphrey family has resided on the same land, south of Proctor and on the West Road, since Revolutionary times, which gives her description great value. The road passed west of the present highway, near the Humphrey house, and approximately in the present location of the railroad tracks. It then went up over Geno Hill, swung around a small pond, and then cut across the present road, bearing east toward Pittsford. The marker in Proctor is on a present highway, and evidently several hundred feet east of the old road.
57. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
58. Hemenway, *History of Rutland County.* p. 814.
59. This spring is sometimes called locally "Ethan Allen's Spring." It is probably the same spring at which the late Gov. Ormsbee hung a drinking cup, with a sign: "This is Governor Ormsbee's cup; take a drink; then hang it up." (Ed.)
60. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road.* Third paper.
61. *Rutland Herald*, Jan. 16, 1861. Story of Elias Hall.
62. Baker, Mary E., *The Crown Point Road.*

63. Farnsworth, Amos, *Diary*. "
64. *Memorial History of Hampstead, N. H.*, Diary of John Calfe.
65. Shrewsbury. (Ed.)
66. Neshobe, now called Brandon.
67. Wiswald's in Sudbury and Mr. Wessell's in Shoreham are mentioned frequently. The latter was the scene of the meeting of Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold in May, 1775. Were there two places, one in Sudbury and one in Shoreham, or was there only one, the name spelled differently and the location inaccurate? A search of the land records of these towns and Orwell which is between them fails to show where the place could be. Nor is there any early mention of the name in local histories. But the name is now not uncommon in that region. Did Wessell or Wiswald join the British in 1777, and suffer a punitive oblivion? (Ed.)
68. Atherton, H. B., *The Indian Road*. Third paper.
69. Ticonderoga and Fort Independence were occupied by American troops from May, 1775, to July, 1777, the numbers varying from a hundred or more to several thousands. These posts were concentration and training camps. During this time the Crown Point Road, or part of it, was probably used by many of the troops from New England. (Ed.)
70. Center Rutland. (Ed.)
71. Gilbert Davis, *Address at Dedication of 20 Mile Marker*. Pamphlet.
72. It should be noted that the road was not actually commenced till after the news of the fall of Quebec had reached Crown Point. The road was built for military uses which vanished with that victory. It opened the country for peaceful occupation, and its only military use was eventually against the British. (Ed.)
73. Dr. Mott, *Address at Dedication of 26 Mile Marker* (at Plymouth). Pamphlet.
74. *Regent's dedication of 26 Mile marker*. Pamphlet.

CASTLETON FORT

By HENRY HALL

The author of this paper was a native of Rutland, born in 1814; died in 1889. He studied at Middlebury College, and was graduated from Amherst. He taught school for two years at an academy near Baltimore, Maryland, and then returned to Rutland to read law. He was admitted to the bar in 1839, and became Register of Probate in the same year, holding that office till 1861. After that date he gave his attention largely to literary and historical matters, giving lectures and writing papers. Some twenty-five of these papers were published in the RUTLAND HERALD, and perhaps others in the RUTLAND GLOBE. This paper, of which the manuscript is in the possession of the Vermont Historical Society, may have been so published.

Henry Hall formed a large and valuable collection of historical papers, from some of which he quotes in this article. It is not known what has become of these papers, but if the garrison orders are a fair sample, they are important enough to warrant a search.

Such documents as these, of which the originals are now lost or unknown, have doubtless been reprinted from time to time in the newspapers of Vermont, and other fugitive publications, where they remain practically inaccessible. Systematic search might bring valuable results, especially where the authors are careful historians. That Henry Hall was such a man we may gather from the acknowledgments of his aid in compiling that mine of Vermont History, called GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL. Ed.

. . . . As to the time when the fort was built, Lieut. Elias Hall told me it was built in 1778. This is doubtful;¹—I find Castleton mentioned in the public documents, twice in that year. On the 22d April 1778, Matthew Lyon as Deputy Secretary writes to the inhabitants of the northern towns on Otter Creek, in reply to their petition, that the Council cannot defend north of Pittsford and Castleton; officers are required to assist them in moving; those that do not move are to be treated as enemies. The second notice is in a

letter from Gov. Chittenden to William Sherman, commissary at Bennington, as follows: "State of Vermont, 13 June 1778. In council Bennington. Sir, Please to deliver the bearer Mr Joseph Belknap, Ten pounds of Powder, for the use of the Militia in Castleton."

The earliest instance that I find of an allusion to the Castleton Fort is a recommendation that one be built. This is a record of the Board of War, and is as follows: "Arlington, March 12, 1779—Whereas, this State is a frontier to the Northern Enemy; it is therefore necessary some lines should be ascertained, where this State will attempt to defend the inhabitants. Therefore, resolved, that the north line of Castleton, the west and north lines of Pittsford to the foot of the Green Mountains, be, and they hereby are, established a line between the inhabitants of this State and the enemy; and all the inhabitants of this State, living to the north of said line are directed and ordered immediately to move with their families and effects within said lines. This board on the petition of the inhabitants, do also recommend the inhabitants of Castleton and Pittsford immediately to erect a Picket Fort, near the center of the inhabitants of each town; and that the women and children, (excepting a few near the fort) move to some convenient place south, and that the men, with such part of their stock, as may be necessary, remain on their farms and work in collective bodies, with their arms."

On the same day that the Board of War passed this resolution, Gov. Chittenden wrote a letter to Capt. Gideon Brownson: "Arlington, 12 March 1779, Sir, As it was omitted in the other letter, to advise you in regard to the inhabitants of Castleton and as I have recommended to them to build a picquet Fort in that town: would advise that on the arrival of the militia from Col. Warren's regiment, you send them some relief to keep the same." By the resolution it appears probable that no fort existed in Castleton before 1779.

It also appears by this letter, that the State did not contemplate assisting in building the fort, but did intend to aid in furnishing a garrison for its defence. This confirms the statement of Elias Hall that the citizens of Castleton built the fort, as it was originally constructed; for according to the evidence of James Eddy of Clarendon, the addition was built in 1781, he, Eddy, one of the garrison at that time, assisting in its construction.

In order to comprehend the situation of the fort, it is necessary to remember, that it was located on the side and top of a hill, perhaps

30 feet high, a few rods west of the present dwelling of Mr. Hart Langdon, the north and south road running through the two gates, over the parade ground, in the east part of the fort, while the principal part of the enclosure extended down the hill to the woods and swamp on the west. The fort enclosed about an acre of land.² It is but a few years since this hill was levelled for the convenience of travel. It was built originally of hemlock pickets or logs, one end sunk into a ditch about 5 feet deep, the rest of the logs extending perpendicularly into the air 8 or 9 feet above the ground, the general shape of the whole being circular.

Toward the northwest corner was a large spring of water, whence flowed quite a rivulet, from which buckets of water were dipped. The dwelling house of George Foot was situated in the westerly part of the fort where it was built some years before. On the inside opposite and against the crevices between the logs, smaller pickets were driven, so as to be about 5 feet high above the ground and just above these short pickets were port-holes, large enough for the insertion of muskets. On the north, southwest and southeast were sentry boxes, rising high enough to overlook the pickets, partially boarded up for protection against shots and roofed over for protection against rain, snow and sleet.

The addition made in 1781 was not circular but extended about ten rods straight north and south, the north and south sides extended in straight lines from the east side to the circular part. This addition was constructed differently in its style of defence, as well as in its shape, from the old fort. One large log was laid upon the ground, another on the first log, about two feet farther out two other logs were placed in the same position; between the two inner logs a large stake was inserted with a sharpened point, extending upward and across the two outer logs several feet; outside of the whole a deep ditch was dug; the waste dirt dug out of this ditch was thrown between the outer two and inner two logs, making the whole quite solid. On the outer edge of the ditch, moat or fosse, large stout fascines made of the tops of trees were planted, the boughs matting so strongly together, that it was quite difficult to pull one of them out of its place.

At the southeast corner of the new part was a flanker or bastion in which was a platform raised a few feet. On this was an iron cannon of six pounds calibre mounted on little low iron wheels and there was also in the old part of the fort a small swivel of 3 pounds

calibre on wheels. The gates on the north and south sides of the new part opening exactly opposite the parade ground were made of hard wood planks, double, and studded with large headed nails so as to be bullet proof. East of the parade ground the space was occupied by the barracks and tents. The house of Eli Cogswell and a store-house were put up in the fort. There was also a small building for drying and smoking meat. The houses were of plank with board roofs, except the Cogswell house, which was clapboarded, shingled and had windows. There was also one other fixture in the fort not very attractive to the soldiers, although they gave it a pleasant name, the "Adjutant's Daughter." This was a no less terrible thing than a whipping-post. The soldiers with irony called being whipped, hugging the "Adjutant's Daughter." The whipping was done with a small whip called, "the cat o' nine tails." The handle was about 1½ feet long; the strands, nine in number, made of twine were 1½ feet long with nine knots in each strand.

As to the name of this fort—James Eddy who was there as a soldier says that in the fore part of the year 1782, the last of January or first of February, Capt. Wm. Hutchins christened the fort in this manner, viz.: parading the men in front of one of the gates, he takes a junk bottle of rum in his hand, advances near the gate and repeating some formula then in common use, he threw the bottle violently against the gate shivering the glass into atoms and sprinkling the beverage all about; at the same time he in a loud voice christened the fortress, "Fort William," his own Christian name. But in a map of Vermont dated 1789 made by Wm. Blodgett, this fort is called "Fort Warner." In the different garrison orders etc., the fort is called sometimes Warner and sometimes William; when or how the original name was given, I do not learn, but as Ethan Allen gave Seth Warner a deed of land in the town of Castleton, for suitably handling a Yorker, it is probable this fort was named in honor of Seth Warner.⁸

As to the mode of furnishing the garrison⁴—James Eddy said, Clarendon and Rutland divided the towns into classes to furnish each, one soldier, and the towns paid the soldiers in addition to what the State gave; people wouldn't enlist without. William Roberts of Rutland hired Eddy to serve ten months in the year 1781, in the Castleton Fort at the rate of \$10.00 per month. Roberts paid Eddy in gun, clothes, shoes, etc., the gun being valued at \$10.00. Roberts received State orders to the amount of 40s per month, the balance

20s, or \$3.33, Eddy supposed Rutland paid Roberts. After the ten months expired, Eddy enlisted again for five months, but this time he only received the State pay of 40s per month, receiving no town bounty.

The action of the town of Castleton throws some light on this subject as follows: "15 Sept. 1780. Voted to pay as many men as will turn out as volunteers, out of said town, to scout, to defend the Frontiers, ten silver dollars per month, or pay them in wheat at 5s or corn Indian at 2s6d." "Voted, that the town allow those men that turn out in this service 1s 6d per day, as billet money to vittle themselves, on condition that they cannot be supplied by the public." "Voted, that those men as above, be allowed one gill of rum per day each day that they are in the woods." "20 March 1782. Voted, to divide the town into two classes, to hire each class a man to go into the service the ensuing campaign." "17 April 1782. Voted, to raise a rate of £49, 8s to pay soldiers raised in town of Castleton for ensuing campaign and for 'Town Book.'" The following reference to the fort is made by the town: "19 March 1781. Voted, to divide the district at the bridge west of the garrison for to build the pounds." 19 Oct. 1778, the Legislature resolved to pay 50s per month to the soldiers raised for the defence of the State during the present campaign, in addition to the sums established by the Continental Congress.

James Eddy stated the rations of the garrison to be $\frac{3}{4}$ pound of fresh beef with bread; for scouts, dried beef and bread; but the rations were so uniform soldiers would soon grow weary of such monotonous diet, and they were very apt in time of quiet when military discipline was somewhat relaxed to poach on the gardens, poultry yards and live stock of the good citizens of Castleton, and especially on the premises or property of those who were suspected of wavering in their political orthodoxy. . . . Eddy said while he was in the fort salt was very scarce, selling as high as \$10.00 per bushel.

On one occasion, a lad of seventeen years named Shipman came into the fort in 1781 as a new recruit and was soon placed as guard over the smokehouse. His youthful appetite was strongly tempted by the savory odor of the meat. It was said some of the old soldiers encouraged him to take some of the meat for his own use, although this was strictly in violation of orders. Whatever his inducements were, he yielded to temptation, took a small quantity of the meat, was detected and courtmartialed and sentenced to receive ten lashes.

It was the general belief that Col. Samuel Fletcher would reprieve the youthful offender . . . but the Colonel, who seems to have been considered by part of the soldiers as an austere man did not relax the sentence in the least; the soldiers were drawn up in a hollow square, in the east part of the fort, around the whipping post, which was about nine feet high and one foot thick, the lad's arms were tied up over his head around the post, his legs also tied around the post and the sentence duly executed. The soldiers were so indignant at this, as they thought, undeserved cruelty that they actually trembled with their half suppressed wrath and yet such was their regard for military discipline, that not the least disorder or insubordination was manifested throughout the whole transaction. . . .

The soldiers in the fort did not always receive cash in payment for their services, as the following letter shows, viz.: "Bennington. January 23, 1781. Capt. Robinson, Sir: For the value that I have received, please to pay unto Archelaus Tupper six bushels of wheat, which I was to have for turning out to serve one month at Castleton, October last, in the year 1780. Stephen Fuller."

In order to illustrate somewhat the life of garrison soldiers, I quote some of the orders issued by the commanders of the fort: "Garrison Orders, Fort William, May 2, 1782. As we are now on the frontiers, we must use every exertion for our security and for the cause of liberty, and I would wish every man to consider that a soldier's security, whether in field or garrison, depends on good order and regulation. As firing off guns is often attended with sad consequences, there will be no gun fired near the camp, except at the enemy. The soldiers will not stroll from camp more than fifty rods without leave from the commander of the fort. The guard will stop all lurking persons as strangers who enquire about the condition of the garrison, or the strength of the troop, and let them be examined by the commander of the fort. Every man will post himself in a posture of defence immediately; they will have their arms and accoutrements at night so they can take them at the shortest notice. The roll will be called at sunset and at six o'clock in the morning; the guard will be released at eight o'clock in the morning; the gates will be shut at eight o'clock at night and the countersign will be given out; then there will be no noise in the garrison. The soldiers that compose this garrison will allow no offal to be seen within the picquets; they will wash their clothes as often as neces-

sary and keep themselves and their arms clean, so they can appear with a soldierlike air. Per order Amos Kellog, Lieut. Com."

"Fort May 5, 1782. Garrison orders. The soldiers will not waste the ammunition they receive from the State unnecessarily, as they are accountable for all received. The soldiers will sweep their huts every day and keep them clean and every fair day they will hang out their blankets to air them, so as to secure their own health. There will be a Sergeant of Police named to visit the huts every day until further orders. Per Order Kellogg, Lieut. Com."

"Fort William, May 12, 1782. Garrison Orders. The Guard will keep one sentinel by day and three sentinels by night; the sentinel by day will stand upon the ramparts by the south gate; the gates will be shut by dark and then there will be one sentinel set on the west rampart and one on the east rampart and walk the ramparts from north to south. The guard will not pull off their accoutrements, on any account, till they are relieved by the new guard. The guard will not leave the guard house without leave from the officer of the guard, and then not more than half the guard to be absent at once, as firing off when on sentry is of the greatest importance. The sentinel will not fire without hailing properly and then take the greatest care to know whether a man or not, before they fire. The officers of the guard will read the orders every day to the guard. Whoever breaks these orders is liable to the severest punishment. Per Order Lieut. Dimick, Commandant."

"Garrison Orders. Fort Warner, May 21, 1782. As a soldier's safe guard is his firelock, the soldiers will not go more than fifty rods from the garrison without their arms and accoutrements. As there is nothing more additional to a soldier's honor, nor to merit the esteem of his officers, like sustaining a good character amongst the inhabitants, And the Major has the happiness to flatter himself that he has the honor to command such troops as will at the close of the campaign return home with the greatest honor to themselves and their officers, which will be their greatest happiness, and must gain their greatest notice and highest esteem and do honor to their country: and to prevent scandal to themselves, but gain honor to themselves and officers, The soldiers will use the inhabitants with the greatest civility, they will be very cautious not to take the least article from the inhabitants of their private property, without their approbation, or order from their commanding officer; as the offenders will

be punished with the greatest severity. Per Order Gideon Brownson, Maj. Commanding."

Lieut. Hall said that in the fore part of the year 1779, Tehan Nobles of Rupert was captain of the company in Fort Warner; in the latter part of the year, Parmelee Allen was captain, that he, Lt. Hall, was orderly sergeant in the company; that the company contained 35 men; that till Oct. 1779 the Castleton garrison was supplied with provisions by the U.S. government, from the fort in Rutland, where Thomas Sawyer was captain and Richard Mount, U.S. commissary; that in Nov. 1779 the Castleton garrison was sent to the fort in Rutland and stayed there about 14 days; that William Hutchins of Bennington was captain in Fort Warner in 1781; that Hutchins was a great tippler, the soldiers watched him one day and by actual count he drank or sipped of rum 70 times that day and yet was not intoxicated; that in the year 1782 provisions failed and he Lieut. Hall went with the Castleton garrison to Lieut. Hale of Rutland, there breakfasted and then he dismissed them, the soldiers agreeing to assemble when called upon.

The year 1780 was somewhat exciting in Vermont; apprehensions of invasion from Canada prevailed. The forts at Pittsford, Rutland and Castleton were strengthened and garrisoned; two companies of Rangers patrolled the frontiers and soon alarms were sounded along the whole state. Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William, on retiring hurriedly into Canada had left his silver plate secreted in his cellar at Johnstown, N. Y., about 30 miles northwest of Albany. In May 1780, Johnson with a body of Indians and Tories suddenly appeared in the Mohawk valley, recovered his plate and ravaged the surrounding country sending challenge to Governor Clinton at Albany to catch him if he could. Gov. Clinton started from Albany with some militia to intercept Johnson at Lake George and sent word to the officer in command of the fort at Castleton to meet him at 'Ti' for the purpose of cutting off Johnson's retreat down Lake Champlain. Word was forwarded at once to Major Ebenezer Allen in command of the fort at Pittsford; the news spread rapidly through the neighboring towns and before sunset, more than two hundred men from Castleton, Clarendon, Rutland and Pittsford were on the march and the next day Allen wrote Clinton from Mount Independence that he had over two hundred men there and one hundred more coming but that they found no boats prepared for crossing the lake. Johnson passing farther north

reached the lake at Crown Point and escaped with about forty prisoners. Gov. Clinton was one of the bitterest enemies of Vermont but in writing the N. Y. delegation in Congress, he says: "The punctuality and readiness of the militia of the Grants in complying with my request with about 240 men did them great honor." Although the Vermonters received the message so late, they reached the lake one day in advance of the New Yorkers and there they remained some ten days, hoping for a chance at the marauders. While there they received a welcome visitor, Ethan Allen coming to Castleton soon after the alarm, followed rapidly to Orwell in hopes of sharing the glory of the expedition. . . .

The summer of 1780 was quiet, but in October Lt. Horton with 203 Indians and seven Tories went up the Winooski to Royalton, plundering, capturing, burning and killing. Maj. Carleton with eight large vessels, twenty-six long boats and over 1000 men came to Ticonderoga, captured and demolished Forts Anne and George, burning and destroying all before them. Northern New York was in a panic. Gov. Clinton wrote to Gov. Chittenden for aid. The Vermont militia were called out and ordered to rendezvous at Castleton under Brig. Gen. Ethan Allen. Joseph Fay and Stephen R. Bradley were on Allen's staff at Castleton. Propositions for the exchange of prisoners passed between Gen. Allen and the British authorities; a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon and the militia were disbanded.⁵ New York suspected something wrong, some of the Vermonters shared the suspicion against Allen, and when the Legislature met, Capt. Wm. Hutchins and others complained of Allen's conduct. Allen was indignant and resigned his Brigadier generalship, but the Legislature entirely justified Allen's conduct. Elias Post of Rutland was in Castleton in a company whose captain was Samuel Williams and Lieutenant Wm. Barr, while Allen was there. He remembered Allen's wearing a favorite pea-green coat. Allen would assemble the men on the meadow east of the fort, drill and exercise them, and then entertain them with talk about the treatment he had received from the British during his captivity. He would denounce and curse the British until he actually foamed at the mouth.

The year 1781 the British were on the lake with all their shipping, but only landed at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, making no attack on Vermont except the accidental killing of Sergeant Tupper near Mount Independence by the Tory Haseltine Spencer of Clarendon.

During this campaign Col. Fletcher and Gen. Enos were in command of the forces at Castleton. . . . In Aug. 1781 a scout of three soldiers was sent out from the Castleton fort to gather information about the enemy on the lake. . . . From Mt. Independence they saw the British at Ticonderoga marching to the sound of drum and fife and looking very finely. Such was the report brought by this scout that the officers in command caused an alarm signal, which was three successive discharges of a single cannon, and within twenty-four hours all the neighboring hills were covered with militia.

In September 1781 Capt. Stark in command of about thirty soldiers convoyed about a dozen British prisoners from East Bay down the lake in two boats to Mt. Independence, staying there under a white flag of truce until the British vessel, the Royal George, came and took off the prisoners. The American soldiers were on board this ship some half hour, long enough to find themselves, on leaving, covered with vermin. In this were Abraham Owen of Pittsford, Ephraim Westcott and James Eddy of Clarendon, Gideon Wellman of Arlington, Moses Durkee of Dorset, Lawrence of Hubbardton, Avery and Grimes. . . .

I find in the Treasurer's account the following items of State expense connected with Castleton:

1780	Feb. 15	Capt W. Hutchins for snowshoes	£ 15.
"	Apr. 11	Isaac Clark Rum allowed Militia in alarm	67.15
"	May 28	Isaac Clark provisions allowed Maj. Allen's detachment	593.17
"	June 22	Isaac Clark on Eli Cogswell certificate	162.00
"	June 19	Maj. Eb ^r Allen Rum allowed Militia	175.40
"	Mar. 1	Gen Ethan Allen powder, lead & transportation	5174.00
"	Oct. 9	Gen Ethan Allen Expenses for sundry journeys for ye state	38.86.00
1781	Jan. 6	Luther Richardson stores allowed Lt Hall's company	88.12.3
"	Mar. 31	George Foot serving as commissioner of Issues, etc.	36.19.0

"	July 19	Jedediah Leavins conducting British prisoners to Castleton, etc.	22.28
"	July 25	Jonas Galusha conducting British prisoners to Castleton, etc.	39.11.10
1782	July 16	Abraham Ives conducting British prisoners to Castleton, etc.	10. 7.0
1783	Mar. 20	Abraham Ives for taking and transporting prisoners to Castleton in Oct. 1781	
1782	Mar. 1	Capt. Wm Shepard for services in Nov. 1781 at Castleton	33. 8.6
"	Mar. 18	Col. Samuel Robinson for services done at Castleton 1781 in the Militia	33.11.8
"	Mar. 18	Col. Samuel Robinson for riding express from Bennington to Castle & Skeenesborough	3.12.0
"	Mar. 18	Capt. James Brookins for services done at Castleton 1781	650.15.8
1783	Jan. 2	Lieut. Samuel Culver for Militia services at Castleton in October 1781	16. 9.7
"	Feb. 7	George Foot for his services as gaoler	4.13.0

NOTES

1. Ira Allen wrote to Gen. Philip Schuyler, July 15, 1777, that the British were reported to be fortifying Castleton. Schuyler replied, expressing surprise and doubt. *Governor and Council*, I, 133. This may have given rise to the idea that fortifications were begun at that time, as indicated on the monument now on the site. The reference to the presence of militia in Castleton in 1778 might also indicate that there was some place for them to occupy. But the petitions and the orders of March, 1779, indicate that there could have been nothing of importance before the spring of 1779.

2. The editor has made a careful examination of the region in the vicinity of the fort, and had talked with Mr. John Langdon, present owner of the Hart Langdon house, now in his eighty-second year, and with Mrs. Langdon, to whom he is indebted for much information. The Langdon house is located north of the present main highway between Castleton and Rutland and east of the road from Castleton to East Hubbardton, on a hill about ten feet above the surrounding land, a hill which has been obviously levelled and made almost exactly rectangular, with regular and abrupt slopes on all sides. Corners of this raised platform have been cut off, in remaking the highway; and if Mr. Hall's account is correct, some of it was cut off, on the west, to avoid a grade

on the road to East Hubbardton. It is almost impossible that any portion of this hill could ever have been as much as thirty feet above the level of the surrounding terrain. A spring or well, northwest of the Langdon house, and west of the road to East Hubbardton, is still visible, though choked and partly filled up. It is doubtless the one mentioned by Mr. Hall. The editor thinks that the original hill was more or less irregular, and sloped from not much above its present level toward the spring or well, and thence toward the marshy region to the west. The spring would naturally have been included within the pickets of the first fort. With the necessity for a larger fort, the remaining portion of the hill was probably levelled off and made rectangular, to conform with the outlines of the fort, and to provide an adequate parade ground for drilling raw troops. The present Langdon house is an old one. A surrounding piazza was added about 1853, partly concealing a front doorway which from its design dates probably from about 1800. And the middle portion of the house was much earlier. Consequently it may have been the Eli Cogswell house mentioned by Mr. Hall as being put in the east part of the second and eastern part of the fort. At any rate, the Langdon house platform seems to have been the east part of the fort, with its ramparts of logs on which the sentries walked, and its parade ground where Ethan Allen in his pea green coat drilled the Green Mountain Boys. It deserves preservation as an historic landmark.

3. The marker erected on the site of the fort, as well as the majority of the printed references to the fort, such as those in *Governor and Council*, give the name of it as Fort Warren, not Warner. The name is probably to be derived from the fact that the first troops ordered to the fort were from the regiment of Col. Gideon Warren. *G. & C.*, I, 295. The reason adduced by Mr. Hall is by no means unworthy of notice; and the fact that the two names are spelled so nearly alike makes a misreading entirely possible. The editor has not examined the original documents to verify one or the other version. It should be pointed out that Mr. Hall had evidently conversed with persons who served in the fort, during the Revolution, and would be likely to know its name by sound rather than from uncertain handwriting.

4. A letter from Gov. Chittenden to Capt. Thomas Sawyer, commanding Fort Ranger at Rutland, under date of May 14, 1779, shows the first disposition of troops and command. *G. & C.*, I, 301. Capt. Sawyer was informed that the object of a garrison at his post was to prevent invasion, and to annoy the enemy should they come within reach. The two forts, at Castleton and at Pittsford, were to be dependent on him, and he was to keep them garrisoned and provisioned in proportion to his strength. He was to keep out scouts toward the Lake, to observe the movements of the enemy. He was to remain in command of Fort Ranger, and the forts at Castleton and Pittsford until otherwise ordered, or until relieved by some Continental officer, and to send to the Governor and Captain General the earliest intelligence of movement on the part of the enemy. Finally he was to guard against surprise. As to the troops of the garrison, we find, *G. & C.*, I, 297, that previous orders to Col. Warren to send one hundred men had been rescinded, doubtless because many of his men were on duty in the southeast part of the Republic. On April 2,

1779, Col. Warren was ordered to send one captain, one second lieutenant, and fifty men. At the same time orders were sent to Col. Fletcher for one captain, one second lieutenant, and thirty-five men, to Col. Herrick for one first lieutenant and thirty-five men, and to Col. Marsh for one first lieutenant and thirty men.

5. On October 29, 1780, the fort at Castleton was the scene of the meeting between Ethan Allen and Justus Sherwood. This opened the secret and personal negotiations of the famous Haldimand correspondence. See Sherwood's account, in the *Vermontier*, XXVIII, 76-82.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Blythe Mountain, Vermont, by Christopher Morley, published by the Stephen Daye Press at Brattleboro, is an imposing and delightful rendering by Vrest Orton of a very charming little essay by one of the best known American writers, descriptive of the very beginning of a trip he and his family made to Vermont. The Morleys, dwellers on flat Long Island, felt the need of lifting their eyes up unto the hills, and they were lifted up thereby. The full text of no more than sixteen pages was originally printed in *The Saturday Review*. It contains so much artistry, and such a sincere appreciation of things that are characteristic of Vermont, that Orton thought it deserved preservation and embellishment, or at least framing appropriately. That has been done. A splendid example of modern type has been set by hand, and the printing is done on fine and durable paper. As a frontispiece, the etching of Andrew R. Butler, entitled the *Green Mountains*, is beautifully reproduced. Mr. Butler seems to feel that mountains are not flat silhouettes pasted against a flat sky, and decorated with trees, but real masses of rock and earth, organic, moulded by the hand of nature, of which the trees and the rivers as well as the dwellings of man are a proper part.

The book is lavish in size; as an ambitious interpretation ought to be. In every respect except perhaps the duly frivolous ornament on the title page, it is severely simple. It shows that simplicity of design, coupled with skillful use of the best materials, and the best craftsmanship is after all the most sumptuous method of bookmaking. The editor hopes that Christopher Morley will write the rest of the story of his adventures in Vermont; and that the Stephen Daye Press will print it in a companion volume.



A valuable article which we hope to present to our members in the near future, will contain two unpublished letters, one by Ethan Allen, and one by Benedict Arnold, both addressed to Colonel Noah Lee of Castleton, who was at the time of the letters commanding the post of Skenesborough, just captured by the Green Mountain Boys and their assistants. The letters are not primary in their historical importance, but they give a clearer insight of the relations of Arnold and

Allen with their subordinates, and show something of the curious situation at the time when the only offensive Revolutionary activities were conducted on the Vermont front. With these, there will be a portrait of Colonel Lee, painted by an unknown itinerant artist, in a most excellent manner characteristic of the best French artists of half a century later.



Walton's Register has come out again, in its one hundred and thirtieth annual edition. It has changed hands from the Tuttle Company, which has issued it for many years, to the National Survey, of Chester. For a time there was some question as to whether it would appear at all; and the State is fortunate that its continuation has been possible. It is the only source available for a very large amount of information about the State, and its towns, cities, and villages. It is of great value to those who know it and use it, but somehow its existence is often unknown to many persons, especially to visitors. The 1931 edition, in our opinion, is not as well arranged or as readable as the 1930 issue, the last to be published by the Tuttle. We should like to see the compact but very inclusive historical, geographical, and biographical notes compiled by Dorman B. E. Kent restored. They may not be important to those who already know a given town, but to the casual visitor they give the town its background, explain its points of interest, and in general make the town a place with associations to be remembered, rather than a list of names and occupations. One improvement is the elimination of advertising matter from the spine of the book. Some is still retained on the front cover, which might cause one to wonder, unless search is made for the elusive title-page, which one of several firms is the real publisher. We hope that the new publisher will find both pleasure and profit in continuing the volume, and developing it to the point that every tourist in Vermont will own a copy, and make use of it as he travels.



If every member of the Vermont Historical Society who reads these notes would make a point of getting at least one new member during the next thirty days both the Society and the new members would be benefited. Two dollars a year pays for membership and includes the yearly subscription to the *Proceedings*. Any person is eligible for membership.

